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THE PICTS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

III.

THEIR HISTORY FROM POST CLASSICAL SOURCES.

FOR the history of the Picts after Roman times, we have two classes of authorities: the writers who were contemporary with the Pictish kingdom, and the writers and chronicles that belong to a period when the Pictish kingdom no longer existed. To the first class belong Gildas (6th century), Adamnan (end of 7th), Bede (beginning of 8th), and Nennius (middle of 9th century?). To the second class belongs the mass of chronicles and annals, whether Scotch, Irish, or English, which date from the 10th to the 15th century, and which Mr. Skene has collected together under the title of "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots." The contemporary writers are, of course, incomparably the most valuable authorities; Adamnan, and especially Bede, are as unimpeachable as they are important. The "Chronicles" of the second class are very unsatisfactory, indeed; as a rule, where they are not mere lists of names they are legendary and fictitious. We may except from this condemnation the annals of Tigernach and also those of Ulster. The information which Gildas conveys has practically been given already. He calls the Scots and Picts "transmarine" nations, and it has been maintained that he considered Pictland or Caledonia to be an island, but Bede interprets this rightly when he says that the Picts and Scots might be called "transmarine" because they were separated from the Britons by

two straits of the sea (Forth and Clyde). Bede has much to say of the Picts. And, first, we must quote in full his important ethnological account of the British Isles :—

“At first this island had no other inhabitants but the Britons, from whom it derived its name, and who, coming over into Britain, as is reported, from Armorica, possessed themselves of the southern parts thereof. When they, beginning at the south, had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Picts, from Scythia, as is reported, putting to sea in a few long ships, were driven by the winds beyond the shores of Britain, and arrived on the northern coasts of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the Scots, they begged to be allowed to settle among them, but could not succeed in obtaining their request. . . . The Picts, as has been said, arriving in this island [Ireland] by sea, desired to have a place granted them in which they might settle. The Scots answered that the island could not contain them both ; but, “We can give you good advice,” said they, “what to do ; we know there is another island, not far from ours, to the eastward, which we often see at a distance, when the days are clear. If you will go thither, you will obtain settlements ; or, if they should oppose you, you shall have our assistance.” The Picts, accordingly, sailing over into Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts thereof, for the Britons were possessed of the southern. Now, the Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots, who would not consent to grant them upon any other terms, than that when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male ; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day. In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means, or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts, which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day called Dalreudini ; for, in their language, Daal signifies a part.”

The above account of the origin of the Picts is that which we find amplified in the later “Chronicles,” and seems to have been the generally received opinion. The most interesting point in it is that which deals with the succession through the females among the Picts, a custom which Bede and his authorities explain in true legendary and euhemerist fashion.

Till the time of Brude Mac Mailcon, in the latter half of the 6th century, our earlier authorities speak only of raids made by the Picts on the Britons. The “Chronicles,” of course, give a list of the Pictish kings that goes back to Noah. It was in the 9th year of the reign of Brude Mac Mailcon (A.D. 563) that St. Columba came to Scotland to convert the Northern Picts. For Bede tells us that the Southern Picts—those to the south of the Grampians—were converted by Nynias or Ninian at the close of the 4th century, and Nennius says that Palladius died among

the Picts. Brude Mac Mailcon had his seat near the Ness, somewhere at or near the present Inverness, and his sway extended from Iona, which he granted to Columba, to the Orkney Isles, whose "regulus" was, on one of Columba's visits, at Brude's Court with hostages. Whether Brude ruled the Southern Picts is not said, but as his successor Gartnait held Abernethy, their capital, it is most probable that Brude ruled the whole of Scotland north of the Firths, including the suzerainty of the Scotic Kingdom of Dalriada. He is called by Bede "a very powerful king." He died in 584, and was succeeded by Gartnait, son of Domelch, who, as the "Chronicles" state, "built the Church of Abernethy 225 years and 11 months before the Church of Dunkeld was built by King Constantine, king of the Picts." The Picts were subjugated by Oswald, King of Northumbria, and made tributary—at least the Southern Picts—by his brother Oswiu after 654. They remained under the Anglian yoke for thirty years, until Brude, son of Bile, raised the standard of revolt in the north, and on his way south defeated and slew Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria, at Dunnichen, in 586. This ended the Anglian rule over the Picts. This King Brude was a great friend of Adamnan, then Abbot of Iona. About 710, Nectan, son of Derile, was king, and he conformed to the Roman Church in regard to the holding of Easter, and he further invited Anglic architects to build him a stone church instead of the usual wooden ones. Tigernach tells us that he expelled the Columban monks "across the Dorsum Britannie," or Drumalban, a fact which shows how violently Roman were his proclivities. It became fashionable at this time for kings to turn monks and clerics, and the same authority informs us that Nectan turned cleric in 724. A fierce struggle then ensued for the throne, in which Nectan afterwards took part, but eventually Angus, son of Fergus, King of Fortrenn, crushed all his rivals, even subdued Dalriada, and reigned victoriously till 759, when he died, and was, according to custom, succeeded by his brother. With the year 731, we lose the guidance of Bede, and, as Tigernach also fails us after 763, we have to depend entirely on the "Chronicles," with the result that the historians are all at sixes and sevens as to what really happened in Pictland and Dalriada during the next hundred years, until Kenneth

MacAlpin succeeded in uniting the Picts and Scots about 844. It is almost useless to attempt to unravel the mystery of this period. Of late the views of Father Innes and Mr. Skene have prevailed, and the old idea of the Scottish conquest of Pictland has been abandoned. In fact Mr. Skene tries to show that it was the Picts who conquered and absorbed the Scots. We are inclined rather to the old belief. At the beginning of the 9th century the Picts were pressed on the east by the Danes, suffering grievous defeats, and on the west by the Scots. The Scots were literary and ecclesiastical, closely connected as they were with Ireland, and the Pictish language was evidently not a written tongue. Hence it was that the Scots, combining military energy with literary and ecclesiastical power, and favoured by the Norse invasions which cruelly harassed the Picts on the east and on the west pressed the Scots from the Islands on to the Picts, gradually imposed their rule and language on the Picts. We shall, further, find reason to believe, when we come to consider the topographical arguments as to the extent of the Pictish language, that the Picts had nothing more than a nominal authority over Western Scotland, from Argyle to Cape Wrath. They do not appear to have settled there at all, if we except, perhaps, the Applecross district ("A' Chomraich," *Cambria*). The Gaels were the first Celts that settled in north-western Scotland, as the topography proves, and these Gaels were doubtless an earlier colony than the Dalriads of the 5th and 6th centuries. If the Gaels possessed so extensive a portion of the Highlands as our theory demands, then their eclipsing of the Picts is not very difficult to understand. The "Chronicles" are decidedly in favour of the theory that the Scots somehow subdued the Picts. There is a story that Kenneth Mac Alpin treacherously murdered the Pictish chiefs at a feast to which he had invited them, but this is a story which often appears on Celtic ground to account for the sudden collapse of a national party. Hengist the Saxon leader got rid of 300 British nobles in a similar way, and, in the times of the clans, the Mackintoshes and the Cummings tried similarly to exterminate each other; while the story also appears in the mythic cycle of the tales about Fionn and his heroes. "The Picts," says Henry of Huntingdon (about 1150), "seem now de-

stroyed, and their language altogether wiped out, so that what old writers say about them seems now fabulous." In considering the disappearance of the Pictish language, it is the fashion to regard it as Gaelic, differing of course slightly from the Scotic or Irish Gaelic. Skene, in his "Four Ancient Books of Wales," was forced to admit that the Pictish was "a Gaelic dialect partaking largely of Welsh forms," but his later views restrict this Brythonic element. "There is," he says, "a British element in the proper names in the list of Pictish kings, and that element is not Welsh but Cornish." If the Pictish language was but a form of Gaelic, then there can be no difficulty as to its disappearance, for the Gaelic we have still with us. There are, however, insuperable difficulties in the way of adopting this theory, and its only recommendation is that it easily accounts for the collapse of the Pictish language.

The first argument against this theory—that the Pictish was Gaelic—is this: the best authorities, like Bede, distinctly state that the Pictish was a language by itself—distinct from the Saxon, British, and Gaelic. Bede mentions this fact more than once, as for instance in this expression, which he repeats under other forms: "The nation and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, viz., those of the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English." Nennius and the English Chronicles present the facts as Bede has them. Adamnan tells us that Columba had to use an interpreter at least twice in Northern Scotland. In one case, when Columba "was tarrying for some days in the province of the Picts, a certain peasant (plebeius) who with his whole family had listened to and learned through an interpreter the word of life preached by the holy man, believed and was baptised." The other case occurred in the Isle of Skye, whither Artbranan, the chief of the Geona cohort, came by boat, and here he was "instructed in the word of God by the saint through an interpreter." The river where he was baptised was in Adamnan's time still known as Dobur Artbranan. Cormac in the 9th century, a great Gaelic scholar, speaks of the *berla cruithnech* or Pictish language, and quotes a word from it (cartit). The historians that were more or less contemporary distinctly maintain that not merely were the Picts a separate nation, but they also spoke a language different

from the others. But we are not altogether dependent on the evidence of historians, strong and good as it is. Firstly, we have at least three significant words handed down to us from the Pictish language—peanfahel (Bede), cartit (Cormac), and diuperr ("Chronicles.") Secondly, there is the list of the names of the kings which tells decisively against the Gaelic character of the language, and there are other personal names, together with the national name of Cruithnech and some others, that have to be considered in cumulating proof. Thirdly, there are the modern place names in Pictland which lend valuable evidence. And, lastly, deductions may be drawn from the Pictish custom of succession through the females, and from the literary and archæological remains connected with Pictland. We shall find that in these points we have irresistible cumulative evidence that the Pictish language was not Gaelic, but British in its connections.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.]

THE MACLEODS OF LEWIS.

(Continued.)

THE Lands of Lewis having been forfeited to the Crown by Torquil Dubh's refusal or inability to produce his family titles to the lands in 1597, they were, in the following year, granted to a number of Lowland gentlemen for the purpose of colonising and improving them on a plan suggested by the King himself. In addition to the Lewis, these gentlemen had also granted to them the district of Trotternish, in Skye, then occupied under a lease by Macdonald of Sleat, and also the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, belonging to Sir Rory Mor Macleod of that ilk. The leading adventurers among the Lowland colonists were; The Duke of Lennox; Patrick, Commendator of Lindores; William, Commendator of Pittenweem; Sir James Anstruther, younger of that ilk; Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno; James Leirmonth of Balcolmly; James Spens of Wormistoun; John Ferrel of Fingask; David Home, younger of Wedderburn; and Captain Wm. Murray.

By contract, dated the 28th of June, 1598, between them and the Government, ratified by Parliament, they were, so as to make up for the expense and trouble incurred by them and for the improvements which they undertook to make, relieved for seven years from the payment of any rent. They further entered into an agreement to pay on the expiration of that period an annual grain-rent of forty chalders of bere for the lands of Lewis, Rona of Lewis, and the Island of Handa; and for the lands of Trotternish, in Skye, a money rent of four hundred merks per annum—twenty merks more than that agreed to be paid by Macdonald of Sleat for the lease of the same lands when secured by him in 1596, two years before.

The party having proved unsuccessful in colonising the Lewis, they do not appear to have ever interfered with the other lands granted to them in Harris and Skye, so that the old proprietors were never disturbed in their possession of them, and they finally succeeded in securing their titles anew from the Crown. The mere fact, however, that lands belonging to Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat were granted to the Lowlanders at the same time made it impossible that they should succeed in the Lewis, a result which might easily have been foreseen by any wise Government.

On this point Mr. Gregory says that had the Lewis alone been granted the dissensions of the natives among themselves would have made success highly probable, the only serious opposition to be reckoned upon being that which Mackenzie of Kintail might be expected to make. "But when grants were likewise made to these Lowlanders of the estates belonging to Macleod of Harris, and of a large district occupied, under a recent lease, by Macdonald of Sleat, a powerful party was at once created in the North Isles, whose interest it clearly was to frustrate and discourage the adventurers by every means in their power. These chiefs could not fail to perceive that the success of the adventurers in the Lewis would enable the latter to seize, with great facility, all the other lands to which Parliament had given them a claim. That they should deprecate such an event was perfectly natural; and it will appear, accordingly, that the enterprise of the Lowlanders at length failed, owing to the obstacles secretly but perseveringly

thrown in their way by the three great northern chiefs, Macleod of Harris, Macdonald of Sleat, and Mackenzie of Kintail." This result is so natural that the wonder is that neither the Government nor the colonists themselves did not at once realise what it involved, and act accordingly.

In July, 1599, a Commission of Lieutenancy was granted to the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Huntly over the whole of Inverness-shire and the Isles, when a special charge was given to them, by every means in their power, and with all their forces, to assist "the gentlemen venturers and enterprisers of the conquest of the Lewis, towards the perfect settling and establishing of that Island under their obedience." A repulsive picture is given of the natives in the preamble to this Commission, in which they are charged with "the grossest impiety and the most atrocious barbarities," though the most heinous offence in the king's eyes seems to be the non-payment of his rents. One of the clauses declares that, "besides all other crimes, they rebelliously withhold from His Majesty a great part of the patrimony and proper rent of the Crown." Express power was given to the Commissioners to punish with military execution not only the open and avowed opponents of the adventurers, but any others who might be found opposing them by indirect means.

The Lowlanders had meantime been preparing for the actual commencement of their enterprise, and, fortified by this Commission to Lennox and Huntly, they, in October, 1599, proceeded to the Lewis with a force of between five and six hundred hired soldiers, accompanied by several gentlemen volunteers and artificers of all kinds considered necessary for such an expedition. That they should have started so late in the season is attributed to the reports of hostility circulated by Mackenzie of Kintail and other northern chiefs to the effect that the enterprise would be strenuously opposed by a formidable force. In any case, the late arrival of the colonists in the Island proved so injurious from the cold and want of shelter and provisions, that a great many of them died of the flux soon after their arrival, and of other complaints brought on by their situation and circumstances. "They began apace," according to Sir Robert Gordon, "to build and erect houses in a proper and

convenient place fit for the purpose ; in end they made up a pretty town," where they encamped. The Lewismen, led by Roderick's two surviving bastard sons, Neil and Murdoch, opposed the adventurers, incited thereto, it is highly probable, by the Mackenzies. James Leirmonth of Balcolmly had in the meantime left the Lewis for Fife in his own vessel. He was intercepted near the Orkneys by Murdoch Macleod, instigated by Kintail, when most of his crew and companions were killed, and he was himself taken back to the Lewis, where he was kept in prison for six months, after which he was liberated on his promising to pay the Macleods a heavy ransom. He, however, died on his way home, in the Orkneys, from, it is said, a disease contracted in consequence of the treatment he had received during his imprisonment in the Lewis, and the ransom was never paid.

This occurred in 1600. At this time Neil Macleod had a dispute with his brother Murdoch, who a few years before had the principal share in the execution of Torquil Dubh. He also aided the Brieve and his tribe, the Clann Mhic Gillemhuire, by whom Torquil Dubh had been apprehended and delivered into the hands of Mackenzie of Kintail, who, in 1597, had him put to death. In the course of this new quarrel, Neil captured Murdoch and several of the Morrisons, every one of whom, except his own brother, he immediately executed. The colonists from Fife, learning what had occurred, offered Neil, if he delivered his brother Murdoch up to them, as the most prominent of their opponents, that they would give Neil a portion of the Island for himself, and render him all the aid in their power to be avenged on the Mackenzies for the death of Torquil Dubh. Neil accepted the terms offered, delivered his brother Murdoch to the adventurers, and accompanied them to Edinburgh, carrying along with him the heads of the Morrisons, ten or twelve of whom he had so recently slain. Having received a pardon from the Crown, he, in company with the colonists, returned to the Lewis. Murdoch was soon after, in 1600, executed at St. Andrews. Before his death he made certain disclosures, in consequence of which and of complaints by the colonists, Mackenzie of Kintail was apprehended and lodged in Edinburgh Castle, but he soon managed to escape by the assistance of his friend, the Earl of

Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, without standing his trial. Nor did he in the slightest degree relax his efforts to gain possession of the Lewis, notwithstanding the risk which he had incurred and from the consequences of which he had so narrowly escaped.

In 1601 new Commissions were granted to Lennox and Huntly for reducing to obedience the Isles and adjacent Highlands. The North Isles were given in charge of Huntly, but the Lewis was exempted from his Commission, probably because the Government expected that the Fife adventurers would be able to cope with the difficulties of the situation themselves, without any extraneous aid. If such was the expectation, they soon found out their mistake. They were almost immediately embroiled in another quarrel with Neil Macleod, the leader of the Island natives.

Gregory on this point informs us that "the leaders of the adventurers who returned to the Island with Neil Macleod, after procuring his pardon and delivering up his brother, Murdoch, to justice, were the Commendator of Pittenweem, the lairds of Wormistoun, Fingask, Balcolmly, and Airdrie. Their situation at this time was so promising that they were induced to limit the exemption from rent, which, by their contract, was to last for seven years, to two years from the commencement of their undertaking. Soon after their return, however, some injury done by Spens of Wormistoun to Neil Macleod, embroiled them once more with the latter. Wormistoun laid a plot to entrap Macleod; but that leader, having a similar design against Wormistoun, was upon his guard; and, as soon as a party sent to apprehend him were at a sufficient distance from their camp, he attacked and routed them, with the loss of sixty of their number. Mackenzie of Kin-tail, who, since the agreement made between Neil Macleod and the colonists, had almost despaired of frustrating the enterprise, was no sooner informed of this quarrel than he hastened to profit by it. He had detained in captivity, for several years, Tormod, the younger brother of Torquil Dubh, and only surviving legitimate son of old Ruari Macleod of the Lewis. Although ordered by the Privy Council, in April, 1600, to produce his prisoner before them, he had evaded compliance, and still detained Tormod

Macleod in custody without a warrant. Suddenly changing his plan, on hearing of the quarrel between Neil and the adventurers, Mackenzie restored this young man to liberty, and sent him into the Lewis, promising him, secretly, great assistance if he would attack the settlers in concert with his uncle [? brother.] On his arrival in the Island, Tormod was received with open arms by Neil Macleod and all the old followers of the family of Lewis, by whom he was at once acknowledged as their lord and master. Encouraged by the support he received from his clan and the other natives of Lewis, and guided by the advice and experience of Neil Macleod, who had so long been their leader, the young chief attacked the camp of the adventurers, forced it, burnt the fort, killed many of their men, and at length forced the principal gentlemen to capitulate with him on the following conditions:—first, they were to obtain from the king a remission to the Macleods for all their bypast offences; secondly, they promised never to return to the Lewis, and agreed to give up their title to that Island to Tormod Macleod; lastly, for the performance of these conditions, they were obliged to leave Sir James Spens and his son-in-law, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell, as hostages. In order to obtain the liberation of the hostages, who were detained for eight months by the islanders, a remission was readily granted; and it is probable that the adventurers pretended to surrender their legal rights by a formal deed; but, when their object was attained by the release of these gentlemen, no further attention was paid to the capitulation. Notwithstanding their promise never to return, they seem only to have waited till their hostages were out of danger before taking immediate steps for a reconquest of the Island and its restless inhabitants. Accordingly, in the month of July [1602] proclamation was made, summoning the fighting men in most of the northern counties to meet a Royal lieutenant, probably the Marquis of Huntly, at Inverness, on the 20th of September, then to proceed against the rebels of the Lewis. On the approach of harvest, however, this proclamation was recalled, and 'the raid of the Lewis' was delayed till the spring of the following year." This delay to 1603 appears from the Records of the Privy Council to have been arranged on the 15th of September, 1602, but it would seem that nothing further was done until the

summer of 1605, when the adventurers, armed with Commissions of fire and sword, and assisted by some of the King's ships, made another attempt to gain possession of the Lewis, out of which they had been kept by Tormod Macleod and his supporters since 1601.

It was now ordered that all the castles and other strongholds in the North Isles should be delivered up to any heralds or officers sent to receive possession of them, and, failing delivery by the chiefs, the colonists were empowered by warrant to besiege and take all the castles by force. All the vessels and galleys owned in the North Isles and the adjacent mainland were to be delivered up by their proprietors at Lochbroom to the Fife adventurers, who were at the same time empowered to seize all vessels and boats belonging to any who should continue disobedient. All other Highlanders were enjoined, under severe penalties, to hold no communication whatever with the inhabitants of the Lewis, who were described as rebels against the King. The colonists, in virtue of the powers conferred upon them, having gathered together a considerable force from the adjoining districts, proceeded to the Lewis, and on their arrival despatched a messenger to Tormod Macleod, intimating to him that if he submitted to them they would send him safely to London, where they would not only secure for him His Majesty's pardon for all past offences, but also allow him to sue through his friends for the King's favour, and for some provision which would enable him to live in comfort afterwards. His brother Neil was much against the proposal, and urged upon Tormod to gather his followers and fight the adventurers as on previous occasions, rather than submit to the terms they proposed. This, Tormod would not agree to. He submitted to the conditions imposed, was sent to London by the colonists as promised by them, and, after a time, he made such progress in impressing upon the King the great wrong which had been inflicted upon his family by granting the lawful inheritance of his house to the Fife adventurers, that these gentlemen, some of whom were at the time members of His Majesty's household, began to fear that the King might recall his grant to them of the Lewis. Their alarm in this respect led them to use all their influence against Tormod, and they succeeded so far,

that, by order of His Majesty, the islander was sent back to Scotland and confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained a prisoner for the next ten years. Neil, who still held out, was supported by the natives of the Lewis, and continued a source of great annoyance and trouble to the adventurers, who now secured a firm settlement in the island, where they remained until they were finally driven out of it by Mackenzie of Kintail in 1609.

From a Commission granted to the Marquis of Huntly in 1607 for the reduction of the North Isles, Skye and the Lewis were excluded. The reduction on this occasion was to be "by extirpation of the barbarous people of the Isles within a year." Huntly, however, got into trouble himself, and the reign of James VI. was, in consequence, saved "from being stained by a massacre which, for atrocity and the deliberation with which it was planned would have left that of Glencoe far in the shade." They were thus only saved by a mere accident, and the islanders owed nothing to their King, "whose character must forever bear the stain of having, for the most sordid motives, consigned to destruction thousands of his subjects," in the North Isles, with the exception of Skye and the Lewis.

In 1607 the colonists, who had been incessantly annoyed by Neil Macleod assisted by the Macneills of Barra, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and the Macleods of Harris, began to give up all hope of maintaining their hold of the Lewis. "Of the original partners, many had, for some time, withdrawn, some had died, others had spent all their property, and of the remainder, some had more important affairs to call them elsewhere. Thus reduced and dispirited by the constant attacks made upon them, they forsook the Island and returned to their homes. The Lord of Kintail, who had all along wrought to this end, now began to stir in the matter. By means of his friend, the Lord Chancellor, he passed under the Great Seal a gift of the Lewis to himself, in virtue of the resignation made formerly in his favour by Torquil Conanach Macleod. The surviving adventurers, however, were not so unmindful of their own interest as to suffer this transaction to pass unchallenged. They complained to the King, who was highly incensed at the conduct of Mackenzie, and forced him to resign his right thus surreptitiously obtained. The Island being

once more, by this step and the consent of the adventurers, at the disposal of His Majesty, he granted it anew to three persons only, viz.—James, Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay of Nether-cliff, and Sir James Spens of Wormistoun." On the occasion of Lord Ochiltree's famous expedition, in 1608, when he entrapped the Island chiefs aboard the King's ship *Moon*, at Aros, in Mull, and carried them prisoners to Edinburgh, his Lordship, in the report of his proceedings made to the Privy Council, assigned the lateness of the season as his reason for not having proceeded against Macleod of Lewis and Macneill of Barra, at the same time stating that the latter was a depender upon Maclean of Duart, who had come to terms, and who would answer for Macneill's behaviour.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TRAGEDY OF CLACH-NAN-CEANN.

A SGEULACHD OF THE RANNOCH CAMERONS.

ARMED with swords and shields and clubs, the three Cameron men set off quietly and stealthily towards the shore. Having espied the Macgregors sitting carelessly under a bank near the loch side, they cautiously crept up to the place, sprang upon them, and clubbed and disarmed the party before they could look about them or cry for assistance. To do this and bind them hand and foot with thongs was the work of only a few minutes. Thereafter they set off southwards with equal quietness and caution, and, having found three men sitting in one place, succeeded in clubbing, disarming, and binding them. But, unfortunately, the fourth man, being at some distance from his companions, gave a loud cry when he saw what was going on, which alarmed Ardlarich and his three men in the distance. This man, however, was quickly overtaken and clubbed, disarmed, and securely bound like the rest.

But now came the stiffest part of the contest. Ewen and his brothers were compelled, however, reluctantly to draw their swords and march to meet the approaching Macgregors—three

men against four. The hostile parties met at a spot not far from the present greenhouse in Croisicrag garden. "Geill, a Chamaron-ach," ars an Griogarach. That is, "Yield, Cameron," said Macgregor. The late "Duncan Dubh," the Camghouiran Sennachie, in relating this part of what may be called the Battle of Croisicrag, proudly pourtrayed Ewen's attitude and answer in words worthy of a Highland bard:

"Fhreagair Eoghan mar leoghann 'na gharaidh,
' Cha d' gheill Camaronach riamh.'"

That is—

"Ewen replied like a lion in his den,
'A Cameron never did yield.'"

There was no alternative but to set-to, strike and parry, thrust and guard—clink, clink, clink—in right good earnest at one another—Ewen against Ardlarich and the other two against three. The Camerons, to avoid bloodshed, to which they were very averse, stood chiefly on the defensive. But their disparity in numbers, and the determination of the Macgregors to draw blood, made this attitude of mere defence a very difficult, if not a dangerous, one to maintain. While the combat was being carried on in such a state of inequality and indecision on the Cameron side, Marsali, who had been attentively watching the proceedings, sallied out sword in hand and bravely encountered the fourth Macgregor man. Not only did she successfully defend herself against him, but, by a dexterous and fortunate blow, succeeded in disarming and placing him *hors de combat*. She then addressed herself to the next man, and by a slash of her sword wounded him in his right hand, and placed him in a similar position. At this juncture the third man's sword broke in the middle, and he, too, was quickly disarmed and secured. And now there only remained to be secured Macgregor of Ardlarich, who, like a mad bull butting against a strong stone wall, was wildly laying blow after blow on the impregnable sword and shield defences that Ewen's experienced swordmanship cast up against him. "Yield thee, Ardlarich," said Ewen, "and let me not imbrue my hands in thy blood." Ardlarich, looking round him, sulkily said, "I suppose I must yield to superior numbers," and gave up his sword. The victory was complete and almost

bloodless, and Marsali shared in a great part of the glory. Macgregor was made to swear over his dirk that he would never again set foot with his men on the *Sliosgarbh* nor lift a sword against the Camerons; and, although there was little bloodshed, eight at least of the Macgregors had reason to remember until the end of their days the mauling they had received that night from the clubs of the Camerons.

When they had got rid of their unwelcome visitors, Ewen and Marsali and the two brothers united in rendering their simple and heartfelt thanks to heaven for the signal and bloodless victory they had won, and for their wonderful deliverance from the wicked and dangerous conspiracy that had been formed against them. They felt devoutly grateful for the warning given them, they believed, in a superhuman way; for the success of Ewen's plan of defence, and specially for the courage and resolution given to a frail and tender woman, who, in the hour of danger, displayed all the prudence and gallantry of an experienced warrior.

It was now felt by the Camerons that, on account of the hostility of the Clan Gregor, Croiscrag was no longer a sufficiently strong and safe place of residence for them. Accordingly, they at once set-to to fortify *Tigh-na-dige* (already referred to), and make it a suitable place of habitation. Here in their wattled dwelling, defended by a moat and earthwork which commanded a good view of Loch Rannoch and the *Sliosmin*, they continued to live on for years in security and peace. They subsisted mainly on the produce of the chase. The Black Wood of Rannoch is still famous, not only for being one of the grandest and most characteristic remnants of the great forest of ancient Caledonia, but also for the large variety and quantity of game it affords to the sportsman. It is said to combine in small space all the advantages of a deer forest, a grouse moor, and a woodland game preserve; and the noble capercailzie thrives here better than in any other wood in Scotland. In the sixteenth century this wood extended over a much wider area than it does now, and the numbers and variety of game and beasts of prey were also greater in proportion. The trout fishing on stream and loch was also excellent. *Tigh-na-dige* was thus a hunting and fishing station, to the supply of which all the available *fauna* of the *Sliosgarbh*

were made to contribute.* And if it is considered the height of ambition and happiness by a family in modern society to possess a shooting box and well-stocked moor or forest in the Highlands, so as for a few months in autumn to imitate the habits and pursuits of their primeval ancestors, who made their living in this way, how much more must we envy the position and happiness of the Cameron family, who, in their shooting box of *Tigh-na-dige* and their grand hunting and fishing grounds on the *Sliosgarbh*, lived that real sporting life of which the life of the modern Nimrod is only a milk-and-water imitation!

The married life of Ewen and Marsali was greatly sweetened, and *Tigh-na-dige* enlivened, by the advent of certain young Cameron strangers, who at proper intervals came to claim the acquaintanceship and love of every one in the house. Marsali bore four sons in succession; and, as from time to time Ewen held up each of these boys to receive the mystical rite of baptism from the hand of the good vicar of Fortingall, he felt the duties

* There can be no doubt but that the wolf and wild boar originally abounded in the Black Wood of Rannoch. The arms of the Struan family contain *inter alia* "Gules three wolves' heads erased argent," &c. These were probably given for prowess in the destruction of wolves. The last wolf in Rannoch is said to have been killed at "*Muilionn-a-Mhadaidh*, on the old Struan estate of '*Murelaggan*,' about a mile north from the Mansion House of Dunalastair. The following is a curious tradition in the Struan Robertson family. One of the old chiefs having come to the conclusion that the Black Wood had for some generations back been deteriorating in reproductive vigour consulted an eminent expert in forestry about it. This gentleman gave it as his opinion that the cause of the falling off was in the extirpation of the wild boar. "The wild boar," said he, "is nature's forest planter; where he digs with his snout, tree seeds take root and grow up." It is said that Struan, acting on the advice of his friend, let loose a number of common pigs through the Black Wood and that these quickly restored it to its pristine vigour! The story is at least plausible and curious. The Black Wood is at present not what it used to be. The "Tay Bridge night" wrought sad havoc amongst some of the noblest of its trees—knocking down over 2000 of all sorts. And, yet, such an eminent authority as Dr. Laing, Newburgh, author of "*Lindores Abbey*," thinks it is still, on the whole, the grandest fragment we have remaining of the old forest of Caledonia. So far as we are aware, this famous wood was not represented at all at the Forestry Exhibition so recently held in Edinburgh—a strange instance of ignorance or neglect on the part of the managers. The present esteemed proprietor of Dalt has been recently extending the area of the Black Wood by planting trees from it elsewhere on his estate, where, doubtless, such trees had been growing before; but we think he might also renew Struan's experiment—with the pigs—as a means of restoring the natural reproduction of young trees on the spot, from the cones shed by the old ones.

and responsibilities of life gradually growing upon him. How he loved these little boys and prayed they should grow up to be good and brave men! How their uncles loved them and won their little hearts by making so many ingenious playthings for them with their knives! And then Marsali, when she saw them in wild glee romping about, or watched them as they played together on the green sward beside those two great rough boulders, felt that her happiness was bound up with the welfare of her prattling and self-assertive little men. What a merciful veil was drawn over the grim realities of the future in reference to the fate of these poor innocent children!

We now arrive at a period in the family history of *Tigh-na-dige*, which affords a good illustration of how great a blaze a little spark kindles, provided the combustible materials are there, and also of how an apparently small actual transgression is sometimes followed by a very large measure of penal consequences. It further illustrates how the ignoble passion of revenge, when pushed too far, invariably recoils on the head of the avenger.

Every year towards the latter end of harvest the three Cameron brothers were in the habit of going to Perth to dispose of the furs and other valuable skins they had acquired in the chase, and to purchase the articles necessary for their winter supply. It happened that one year they went as usual to the "Fair City"; and, having disposed of their merchandise, and settled other matters, they entered an armourer's shop, and requested him to shew them his bows and arrows. He produced a large bundle of bows and a sheaf of arrows. They first picked out as many arrows as they thought they required, and, having paid the stipulated price, laid them aside. They then proceeded to select a bow; but having carefully examined each one in the bundle they told the armourer they were not fully satisfied with any of them. Ewen observed, however, that there was a bow laid by in a distant part of the shop, and asked to be allowed to see it. The man brought it, and Ewen on examination at once said, "This is the bow to suit me: it is far better than any of the others." "But," said the armourer, "You cannot have that bow, because it has been selected and paid for already by the Mackintosh of Mackintosh." "What did he pay for it?" asked Ewen. "So and so"

said the armourer, naming the price. Ewen placed the money on the counter, and walked off with the bow—his brothers at the same time fetching away the arrows with them ; and, before anything could be done to arrest their progress, the Cameron brothers were beyond the boundaries of Perth and secure on their way towards Rannoch.

The armourer was greatly annoyed at the carrying away of The Mackintosh's bow ; and when the chief came in and asked for it he did not know very well what to reply to him. "The bow," said he, "has been taken away against my will." "Who would dare," said the chief, "to take away the bow that I paid for?" "It was three men from Rannoch of the name of Cameron," said the armourer, "that took it away." "The Camerons of Rannoch do it!" said The Mackintosh in a voice of thunder and gesticulating so violently that the poor armourer started back and thought the man was out of his wits. "The Camerons of Rannoch do it! I swear by high heaven that I will root the scoundrels out of the land! The Camerons of Rannoch do it, above all men in the Highlands of Scotland this day!" The armourer, feeling that the affair was now becoming rather serious, said, "O chief, you will not do that! I will make a better bow and send it to you, because I consider it was my fault in having allowed them to handle the bow at all." "Cha'n e am bogha idir," arsa Macan-toisich, "ach na tha eadar am bogha 's an t-sreang!" That is, "It is not the bow at all," said Mackintosh, "but what is 'twixt the bow and the string ! But I will compass Loch Rannoch round about and hem them in on every side, and I will then see whether Marsali will cry or not. I will be revenged!" And with that he stepped out of the shop, and walked along gesticulating wildly until he was out of sight. "What a strange people those are that dwell among the hills," said the armourer, "and how difficult to be kept in order ! They are so determined and also so proud and revengeful. But I think there is a woman in this case, Marsali did he say ? And that makes it a much more serious matter."

When the three Cameron brothers were travelling on their way towards Rannoch, Ewen began to experience the horrors of an accusing conscience in reference to what he had done. He

reflected on the circumstance that all his former dealings with The Mackintosh, however disagreeable to the latter, had been strictly honourable. Ewen had, indeed, prevailed over him in love by a rigid adherence to a higher code of morality and honour than his opponent had pretended to ; but this carrying away of the bow was a distinct act of transgression which gave The Mackintosh a substantial grievance against him. The three brothers seriously discussed the question amongst them ; and William and Iain admitted that they had committed a mistake, but then, they said, it could not now be remedied. And when they reached *Tigh-na-dige* and told the affair to Marsali, they threw her into a terrible state of agitation ; for, like a true woman, she instinctively saw and felt the consequences likely to flow from it much more clearly than they ; and, significantly pointing to the bow, when they hanged it up on a nail, she said, "Tha eagal orm gur e so bogh' na h-iorguill !" that is, "I fear this is the bow of strife!"

When Ewen had retired to rest, the affair of the bow still pressed on his mind with the disagreeable effects of a horrible nightmare. He thought he saw a large black cat holding a bow in its fore paws, and, with flaring eyes, directing an arrow against him. And night after night this vision was regularly repeated. The bow was always there, and the black cat shooting an arrow with it at his breast. In this manner, day and night, an accusing conscience filled Ewen with dismay ; and he who had formerly been such a brave and high-minded man now sank into a state of almost moral and physical cowardice. "Conscience makes cowards of us all," says the great dramatist ; and this was the condition of the inmates of *Tigh-na-dige* when the dark cloud that had been for some time threatening them burst over their heads with the fury of a destroying tempest.

On the morning of Michaelmas day Marsali alarmed the men by reporting that she had seen two great bands of armed people, one approaching from the east and the other from the west, with the evident intention to surround their dwelling and cut off all means of escape. It was manifest that the foes were Mackintoshes and Macgregors, and that they were so strong in numbers as to put the idea of offering any resistance out of the question. Ewen said, "William, you are the swiftest-footed man, and you try to

escape by land before the two parties meet ; and if we are slain you carry word to Lochiel. Iain and I will swim the loch ; perhaps Ardlarich will protect us in terms of his oath when we let him go. And surely they will not touch Marsali and the children !"

Without losing a moment of time, William set off towards the hills, and Ewen and Iain, with anxious eyes, watched his progress. He ran a considerable distance along a hollow place before he was seen ; but, when he emerged from this, a great shout was raised on both sides, and a number of men eagerly started in the pursuit. He outran them all ; and, having gone through a bog, with the stepping places of which he was well acquainted, he had the satisfaction to see them one by one getting entangled, so that they could not pursue him any further. "Thank God," said Ewen, "William has got clear at any rate, and that is so far good !" The route along which William ran, in making good his escape, is still pointed out by the people of Camghouran.

SIGMA.

(To be continued.)

SOME GAELIC DERIVATIONS.

PROFESSOR WINDISCH has sent us a short philological paper, which he read last December before the Royal Society of Science of Saxony, and which is printed in its transactions. The paper contains thirteen short articles, dealing, all but one, with the derivation of Old and Middle Irish words. As these words have modern Gaelic equivalents, we give, in a condensed form and with some remarks, Professor Windisch's articles :—

1. O. Ir. *fēil* Gaelic *fēill* (a feast or fair), Welsh *gwyl*, from a groundform *veili* or *veili*, he connects with Sanskrit *velā* (a point of time). The word *fleadh* (feast), O. Ir. *fled*, W. *gwledd*, he allies with the Skr. root *vr̥d* (to increase, or to be jovial). But in a marginal MS. note he now says that *fēil* is borrowed from the Latin *vigiliae*, whence the Eng. *vigil* (the eve before a festival or Saint's day) comes. The French is *veille*. Nevertheless, we feel that the entire disappearance of *g* in Gaelic and the vocalic changes need explanation.

2. O. Ir. *tol*, Gaelic *toil* (will), he shows cannot be for *do-volā* (Latin *volo*), which would give *tol*. He connects it with Grk. *stellō* and *-stolē* of *epistolē*, whence our *epistle*, and, with another preposition, the Gaelic *abstol* (*apostle*).

3. O. Ir. *trág*, *trílag*, Gaelic *truagh* (pitiful), Wel. *tru*, he suggests have a groundform *strougos* or *streugos* and connects the Homeric *stredgesthetai*.

4. O. Ir. *mrath*, M. Ir. and Gaelic *brath*, W. *brad* (treachery), which gives a Goidelic groundform of *mrata-m*, he connects with the Greek aorist *embrote* (failed, sinned), which is the unaspirated and more original form whence Grk. *hamartóns* comes.

5. M. Ir. *ebliúm* (I educate), from a groundform *ebalit*, he joins with Grk. *ophellés* (I increase, elevate).

6. O. Ir. *rdt*, Gaelic *rud* (thing), which points to a groundform *rantu-s*, he connects by metathesis of the *n* with Skr. *ratnam* (property, goods).

7. O. Ir. *cluiche*, Gaelic *cluich* (play), which indicates a groundform *clocia*, he connects with Gothic *hlahjan*, Eng. *laugh*, which Fick further connects with Grk. *klōssō* (to cluck).

8. He shows that *ludus* of the Latin is probably for *dudus* or *doidos*, with which he connects O. Norse *teitr* (joyful).

9. O. Ir. *clár*, Gaelic *clár* (tablet, board), W. *clawr*, with a groundform *clára* or *cláro*, he connects, with evident right, with the Greek *kleros*, Doric Grk. *kláros* (a lot), whence we get so many English and Gaelic words, such as *clerk*, *cleric*, *clergy*, etc.

10. M. Ir. *dám* (a company) with a stem *dámo*, with which we should connect Gaelic *dáimh* (relationship, connections) from a stem *dámi-*, he equates with the Grk. word *dēmos*, Doric *dānos* (a tribe), whence our *democracy*, etc. The O. Welsh *dannu* (cliens) Rhys (*Lectures*, p. 236) connects with Skr. *dāman* (a bond).

11. M. Ir. *sleg* (spear), Gaelic *sleagh*, from a ground form *slegā*, he connects with Skr. *stj*, *stjati* (to sling, hurl).

12. O. Ir. *rand*, Gaelic *rann* (part, stave), W. *rhan*, which, if the O. Ir. is *rand* gives a groundform *randá* or *randhā*, he joins with the Skr. root *randh*, whence *randhyati* (to surrender, to fall into anyone's power). But in a MS. note on the margin he informs us that this derivation is "unsicher," unsure, for the oldest form of the word is *rann*, not *rand*.

13. The O. Ir. *dair*, Gaelic *dàir*, which Stokes connected with Grk. *darthánō* (I sleep), like the German *beschlafen* or *by-sleep*, Prof. Windisch connects, on the ground that Stokes derivation does not represent fact, with Grk. *thērnumai*, *thriéskō* (to leap) and *thordō* (semen).

We are glad to place before our readers these excellent etymological suggestions and connections, more especially as most of these words have hitherto been left untreated by philologists, and as the paper appears only in a Continental volume of transactions which British readers are not likely to see.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE FOLK- AND HERO-TALES
OF THE CELTS.

[BY ALFRED NUTT.]

THE cumbersome nature of J. G. von Hahn's classification scheme will be apparent at once to all, and the almost impossibility of obtaining with it a clear view of the relations of the different groups. In the following classification I have endeavoured to reduce the formulas to the simplest and most general form consistent with distinctness, and to group the stories strictly according to their essential parts. The scheme is drawn up solely in view of Campbell's collection, and might possibly be found inadequate in dealing with another.

I classify as follows :—

I.—*Husk-Taboo Group.*

1. Cinderella root.
2. Catskin root.
3. Goldenlocks root.
4. Beauty and Beast root.
5. Black Bull o' Norroway (Cupid and Psyche) root.
6. Melusina root.
7. Bluebeard root.

II.—*Husk Group.*

1. Frog-prince root.
2. Swan-maid root.
3. Seven Swans root.

III.—*Calumniated Wife Group.*

Genoveva root.

IV.—*Recovered Heroine Group.*

Gudrun root.

V.—*Abducted Heroine Group.*

Helen root.

VI.—*Dispossessed Prince Group (Expulsion and Return Formula).*

Romulus root.

VII.—*Task Group.*

1. For bride winning. Brunhilde root.
2. For hero winning.
3. Task imposed by stepmother. Hercules root.
4. Task undergone to avenge injury to superior.

VIII.—*Wisdom-giving Fish or Snake Group.*

Fionn or Siegfried or Melampus root.

IX.—*Tiny Hero Group.*

Tom Thumb root.

X.—*Struggle of Man and Monster.*

1. Hero slain by monster.
2. Hero overcomes monster.
3. Hero tricks monster.

I. Husk-Taboo Cycle.

The characteristic features and the general march of the incidents in this cycle are—Disguised heroine, or hero, wins hero, or heroine, by threefold emergence from state of obscurity. Heroine, married to disguised hero, or hero to disguised heroine, loses him in consequence of breaking taboo connected with disguise. In one form of the story, hero or heroine is regained after many trials (generally of a threefold character), in another form lost for ever. Disguise and prohibition thus characterise this cycle. I have arranged it into seven cycles, giving each the name of a well-known tale. The sequence, it will be seen, is according to strength of the husk or taboo feature, running from *Cinderella*, where the entire stress is on the husk to *Bluebeard*, where the almost entire stress is on the taboo. *Catskin* and *Goldenlocks*, are merely the male and female forms of the same story, and *Cupid* and *Psyche* occupies a central position.

II. Husk Cycle.

This is very closely connected with the previous cycle; some of the stories, indeed, may be equally referred to one or the other.

IV. Recovered Heroine Cycle.

The stories of this cycle are generally found mixed up with incidents from other series. The loss and subsequent recovery of the heroine is always, however, the real knot of the story.

VI. Dispossessed Prince Cycle.

The hero of this cycle is the child of a widowed mother (very often of supernatural race), whose husband has been slain by his kinsmen. She brings up her son in obscurity and ignorance of his parentage. He learns, however, the real story of his birth, shows heroic courage and magnanimity, performs exploits, and wins back his heritage from his usurping kinsman. This is a genuine *märchen* motive, though in our collection it is only found in those tales which belong at once to *märchen* and to *Heldenage*.

VII. Task Cycle.

The real "kernel" of all stories belonging to this cycle is invariably the fulfilment by the hero or heroine of a given definite task. I use the word "task," of course, in the very widest sense possible.

I will now examine the principal stories somewhat more closely.

No. 43—The Sharp Grey Sheep, our version of *Cinderella*, is unusually rich in incidents. It has a persecuted step-child opening, the heroine is helped by her dead mother (this is not stated, but it is certain from a comparison of the foreign versions), in the shape of a grey sheep, who is put to death by the step-mother; but instructs her daughter how to bring her to life again by collecting the bones in the skin. The daughter does this, but forgets to include the hoofs; the sheep comes to life again but limps. The heroine has a rival, who, curiously enough, is not a step-sister, as in nearly every version, but a

servant gifted with some supernatural powers. The recognition is brought about by a shoe, the false heroine, who had mutilated herself to fit on the shoe, being exposed by a bird, as in the German and Lowland Scotch versions.

Catskin is equally well represented, No. 14—The King who Wished to Marry his Daughter—with its variants having an almost complete series of the incidents. We find the hateful marriage opening. The heroine imposes five tasks upon her father instead of the usual three. The story runs afterwards, however, into the Cinderella form, the final recognition being affected by a shoe, a bird taking a prominent part in bringing about the triumph of the heroine.

The variant has likewise the hateful marriage opening, the heroine trying on accidentally her dead mother's dress, which is found to fit her. Here, however, the dresses are mythological. The heroine is persecuted by the mother of the hero (as she is by the cook in the English version, preserved in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*). The final recognition is affected by means of a *glass* shoe (as in *Cendrillon*), the rivals of the heroine as usual mutilating themselves.

The *glass* shoe would show, according to Mr. Ralston, that this version has suffered French influence—on the other hand the language of the original is described as being “old and queer.”

These versions would supply ample proof, if proof were needed, that Cinderella and Catskin are but varying presentments of the same story. The points to which I would direct especial attention are the thrice-repeated emergence of the heroine from obscurity, and the fact of her being helped at the end by a bird.

A few words on the hateful marriage opening may not be out of place. Mr. Ralston holds this for an essential and primitive feature of the story: as a matter of fact, however, this opening is more often found with stories belonging to quite a different series—the calumniated wife cycle. This is the case in the *Vitæ Offæ*, I. et II., which date from about the beginning of the 12th century, in Philip de Beaumanoir's *Manekine*, written towards the close of the same century, in the story of *Artyrus and Erayn* (Ritson, *Ancient English Metr. Romances*, II. 204), which may date from the end of the 13th century, and finally in *Straparola's*

No. 4, the story of Doralice. There are strong grounds therefore for doubting that the hateful marriage opening is really an essential part of any story of my Husk-Taboo cycle.

The "Goldenlocks" series is very well represented in our collection. In No. 4, *The Sea Maiden*, the hero, in the disguise of a neatherd, but who puts off his disguise for the fight, delivers the heroine from three savage monsters to whom she is exposed. The credit of the achievement is taken by a rival suitor, but right finally triumphs, the hero doffing his disguise, and the recognition being effected by three rings. The hero is accompanied and helped by a dog.

In No. 9, *The Brown Bear of the Green Glen*, the hero is helped by an animal, is persecuted by his elder brothers (as his female counterpart *Cinderella* is by her elder sisters), becomes rough-skinned and bald, the final recognition being effected by means of a bird which will only perch on hero's head.

In No. 16, *The King of Lochlann's Three Daughters*, the hero is cheated out of the reward of his achievements by his companions, is helped by an animal, disguises himself as a smith, the final recognition being effected by three gold crowns which he makes.

This story is valuable as having a direct leaning on Benfey's theory. The hero is helped by an eagle—why our story does not say. Now, in a Hindoo story, translated by Garcin de Tassy in his *Allégories, récits poétiques et chants populaires traduits de l' Hindustani*, Paris, 1876, we learn, p. 423 ff., how the hero Almas saves the young of the Simurg from being devoured by a dragon, and is in consequence rewarded by the grateful animal's help. The remainder of the story goes off on a different track. Now, an Hungarian story (Gaal, p. 77) has this incident introducing a story so strikingly like our Gaelic one that it seems hard to believe the one was not borrowed from the other. The inference seems plain, the Hindustani is the primitive version, and the Hungarian is the link between it and the Gaelic, where the real meaning of the story has got lost. On the other hand, the final incident of our tale is as follows—The King, astonished at the beauty of the crowns made by the hero disguised as a smith, bids him come to Court. The hero illtreats the servants first

sent to fetch him, and the soldiers who come the second time. Only the third time, when a high official comes to beg his presence, will he go. Now, this incident occurs in the *Mabinogion* of *Peredur*, p. 113, written down in the 14th century, and in great part as old as the 10th century and probably older. This incident, however, may have come into the tale at a later period, so that the evidence derived from a careful consideration of the tale would seem, on the whole, to be in favour of Benfey's theory.*

No. 44, *The Widow's Son*, is very remarkable. The hero releases the heroine from enchantment, is thrown into a magic sleep, from which the heroine vainly tries for three nights to awaken him—(compare with this the heroine of the *Black Bull o' Norroway* series)—and leaves three gifts with him. When he awakes he pursues her as *Pysche* and the heroine of the *Black Bull o' Norroway* pursue the vanished husband; gets help from three sisters even as they do; obtains magnificent dresses and armour from the gifts left to him by the heroine, in the same way that *Catskin* gets her dresses from the magic nut she carries off, and the final recognition is brought about in much the same way as in many versions of *Catskin*. The peculiarity and interest of this story lie, it will be seen, in the fact that the hero is the counterpart of the heroines in both *Catskin* and *Black Bull o' Norroway* series, showing again the intimate connection of all these stories, and the necessity for comprehending them in a common formula.

The hero of 58 (*The Rider of Grianaig*) is helped by human beings bewitched as animals, whom he releases from enchantment by cutting off their heads; turns smith at the end, and is recognised in the usual way.

Of the usual form of *Beauty and the Beast* our collection does not offer one single example. As a rule the Beast is male. I am inclined, however, to count No. 86, *Daughter of King Under the Waves*, among the very rare versions in which this rule is reversed. The heroine is a hairy monster whom *Diarmaid*, most courteous and noblest of the *Fenians*, allows to share his tent, his hearth, and finally his bed, when she turns, of course, into a beautiful

* I have recently traced out some remarkable parallels between this tale and a group of tales allied to the *Mabinogi* of *Peredur*, to the folk-tale of the Great Fool and to certain incidents in the French mediæval romance, the *Conte du Graal*.

princess. So far the story belongs to the husk cycle only, the rest of the tale is a taboo incident. The wife breaks the taboo, the hero reproaches her violently, and seemingly breaks a taboo thereby himself—at all events the wife vanishes. The story is very fragmentary, and it is unsafe to draw any definite conclusion from it.

Class 5.—The Black Bull o' Norroway—can claim a clearer pedigree than most *märchen*. It is substantially the same with the story of Cupid and Psyche, written by Apuleius in the second century, with the myth of Zeus and Semele, and with that of Purūravas and Urvāsi, as we find them in the Greek and Sanskrit mythology. It is one of the *märchen* which we find among non-Aryan races, versions having been obtained from the Celebes, from the Maories of New Zealand, and from the Zulus. Finally, the mythological system of interpretation has been applied to it with a greater measure of success than is usually the case, even such a cautious scholar as Liebrecht being inclined to look upon it as an expansion of a fire or lightning myth. Neither of our versions is particularly good, or throws much light upon the story. In both the bewitched husband steals away the children, and they afterwards help on the mother in her search. In neither has the taboo anything to do with "fire" or "light," as in so many other forms of the story. In No. 2, Battle of the Birds, the recognition is brought about by a gold cock and silver hen, which remind the hero of what has taken place; in No. 3, the Hoodie, by a ring; in No. 12 (Daughter of the Skies), by the heroine's buying from her rival three nights in the chamber of her husband, the third night she is successful; in No. 44, The Widow's Son, she is unsuccessful, but leaves three gifts with her which bring about subsequent recognition, a very unusual form of the story.

Class 6, Melusina.—I have only 86, Daughter of King under the Waves, in this class. It has already been noticed, under class 4.

Class 7, Bluebeard.—The connection of Cinderella, Catskin, and Goldenlocks, on the one hand, and of Beauty and the Beast, and Cupid and Psyche, on the other, has long been admitted, but I am not aware that the relationship of Bluebeard to either of these two classes, and of the whole forming one common cycle, has yet been pointed out. Campbell's version of Bluebeard, No. 41, The

Widow and her Daughters, conclusively settles the point to my mind.

There are three main forms of the Bluebeard story. Of the first class, Grimm's *Marienkind* is one of the most beautiful examples; we have here a simple taboo, and the story of the disastrous effects consequent upon breaking it. Secondly, the class of which *Dasent's Mastermaid*, is a good example. The taboo comes here from the demon-husband, who is outwitted by the youngest of three sisters; finally, the form immortalised by Perrault, as *Barbe Bleue*, and known to all English children as Blue Beard. I look upon all these as debased forms of the story, and upon our version and its only known variant (that given by Professor de Gubernatis, p. 35, vol. ii., of his *Zoologie Mythologique*), as the primitive and genuine form. The peculiarity and interest of our story lie in the following incidents:—The hero is a disguised prince, who is unhusked at the end of the story—the heroine is helped by an animal, likewise a bewitched human being. The connection of our story with class 4 becomes apparent at once—there the breaking of the taboo merely entailed disappearance of husband—here it entails death to the offending wife. She is saved, however, by the helping animal, whom we meet in nearly every story of this cycle, and all ends well.

Having now gone through all the stories of this cycle, attention is again called to three points—1st, the disguise of the hero or heroine, which may not be dropped until a threefold task has been accomplished; 2nd, the taboo (almost invariably connected with this disguise), the breaking of which entails separation (for a given time or for ever) or death; 3rd, the helping animal, who is nearly always present in some shape or other to untie the knot and bring about a happy conclusion. This helping animal will be looked upon by many as a “grateful beast.” This is a formula which has been used in a somewhat indiscriminate way to explain all sorts of difficulties, and it has been used, especially by Benfey, as a strong argument in favour of the Eastern origin of *märchen*. In many instances the case is clearly and beyond doubt proved, but in many others the reasoning is much as follows:—Our fore-fathers had no conception of the duty of humanity to animals, and could not therefore have

invented stories evidently intended to inculcate that duty ; but in many stories we find animals acting towards men in such a way as can only be explained from gratitude for some benefit conferred on them ; therefore these stories must be borrowed from the East, where humanity to the lower creation is an essential to the Buddhist faith. The whole question is entirely begged by the second premise. A careful examination of the "grateful beasts" incidents in Campbell and other collections leads me to doubt whether gratitude *is* the determining motive of the helping animal or animals. An instance will illustrate my meaning. A very common incident (we have it in No. 4, *The Sea Maiden*) is this : The hero finds a carcase and several animals round it unable to make up their minds how to share it between them ; the hero shares it for them, and they in gratitude promise him their help. Now, this seems to me a most inadequate motive, and I should be inclined to look upon the incident as grafted on the story by a late narrator, who found the animals there and wanted to explain them. As a matter of fact, in one of the oldest instances of "grateful beasts," that in *Cupid and Psyche*, there is no question of gratitude, and in the seven stories of our collection, in which grateful animals make their appearance, in three only are they grateful, and one instance is that in *The Sea Maiden* just referred to. It seems then to me arbitrary in the extreme to refer all instances in which the hero is helped by animals without apparent reason to the "gratitude" formula, and I would venture to suggest that these helping animals may perhaps be explainable by some system of "totemism" such as obtains among many savage tribes of the present day. Again, the trials which *Goldenlocks* or *Catskin* or *Psyche* must undergo to win or rewin their love might be compared to the trials (many of them of incredible savagery) which, among so many races, precede final admission into the tribe. And this explanation would be no less plausible and no more so than many of the mythological theories advanced by eminent scholars.

(To be continued.)

TALES OF THE WATER-KELPIE.

THE water-kelpie is a personification of the power of streams, lakes, and even seas ; it is the spirit of the flood. It does not, as some think, recall a time when such monster animals walked the earth in ante-deluvian times. "The mythic water-horses and water-bulls or cows are to be found in the religious systems of many nations of old." The worship of the water power was prevalent among the ancient Celts ; the many river names called *Dee* or "goddess" prove this as far as rivers are concerned, and the numerous stories about the lake dragons and monsters of Ireland, which Fionn and his heroes, or one of the saints, encountered and destroyed, are proofs that lakes were haunted, and haunted, too, by evil beings. The sea-giant is represented in the Gaelic ballad of the *Muileartach*, by the one-eyed "toothy carlin" that nearly exterminated the *Feinne*. But whether the water-kelpie of our tales is a native Celtic growth or not, has been disputed. Dr. Karl Blind, who wrote a very exhaustive series of papers on the water powers in the *Contemporary Review* of 1881, maintains that the Gaelic stories are of Norse origin. What is significant in the matter is that such tales do not exist among the Welsh. "The mermaid superstition is seemingly absent in Wales," says Mr. Sikes in his "British Goblins," and the Welsh are intensely Celtic in such matters.

Like the power of fire, the power of water may be looked upon as malignant, as beneficent, or as merely kindly tricky. In Scotland, with its stormy seas and isles, and its short and rushing rivers, the water power is generally malignant. It appears, for the most part, as a horse, but it may, in its malignant form, be a young man of fair proportions, or it may appear as an old wife craving shelter and protection. In its kindlier aspects, it may be the mermaid who is caught by the lucky swain while in *deshabile* in regard to her seal's skin. She lives with him happily for a period of time, but at an unlucky moment the seal's skin is restored to her, and she disappears. The word "kelpie," as Mr. Campbell says, is not Gaelic. It is doubtless a derivative from the root of *calf* in English and the German *kalb*. The Gaelic

word for kelpie is "each uisge," water-horse. There is no general name in the Gaelic language for water-sprites. We may note in passing that in the well-known expression "Auld Nick," the name has nothing to do with Nicholas, but is the same as the German *nix* and the Norse *nyk*, which means a sea goblin.

Personally we have been assured of the existence, even in these modern days of trains and telegraph, of this water-horse. We know a man—he is of a family famous for their supernatural visions and second sights—who went one snowy night to a wood near where he lived; it was a plantation beside Tromie Bridge, in Badenoch, a rather wild place, and one famous for its bogles. The snow was lying deep on the ground. He had felled a tree for firewood, though this was quite contrary to the laws of the estate. He was just rolling it on to the road, when he saw in the middle of the road a horse ready caparisoned for the purpose of sledging home firewood, with traces and everything complete. He could not understand it, and was for a while fixed to the spot with wonder and alarm. But soon it flashed upon him that this was the water-kelpie, and breathing a fervent invocation to the Holy Trinity, he hastened from the place leaving the tree behind him.

The foregoing incident is a pure matter of fact. We may explain it according to our taste or knowledge. Of a similarly attested case Karl Blind says: "We must not forget that an imagination trained in the superstitious beliefs prevalent during many thousands of years is easily roused to wondrous conceptions, especially at night." The following tales come to us from various sources, but we are more especially indebted to a young man from Sutherlandshire, Mr. Cathel Kerr, presently a student at Aberdeen University. "There is a loch seven miles from our house," he says, referring to the neighbourhood of Farr and Thurso, "called Lochan-na-cloinne—the children's lake. It came to be so named because a number of children were playing by its side on one Sunday, when a beautiful bay (*buidhe*) horse came out of the loch. The children went where it was and mounted on its back, all except one, who did not care about riding on it. He, however, put his finger on its shoulder, to feel the sleek pile of the horse, but he found that he could not take the finger away again; it stuck

there! The horse began to move ; the boy whipped out his knife and cut off the finger. And well was his need, for the next minute the horse rode, with the children on its back, right into the loch and disappeared. When, next day, the people came to the loch to search, all they could see was the internal parts (*sgamhan*) of the children floating at the water's edge." The horse in this tale is bay, but the general colour is dapple-grey, that of water itself. We may note a certain moral, and, doubtless, modern touch in the tale—the children were playing on Sunday. But it may have been observed in the first story that the man was taking fuel from where he should not.

Thirteen men—the number must be noted—were walking through the hills, when they came to an old bothy. They quickly lighted a fire and were pretty well on with festivities and drinking. The idea of dancing seized hold of their minds, and as one of them was a piper, they all expressed their sorrow that they hadn't their girls there. No sooner said than thirteen beautiful ladies trooped in, and they set to dancing. The piper, who had the opportunity of surveying the scene, saw that each of the women had hoofs instead of feet. He at once understood the danger, and determined to make good his own escape at least. He told his lady-love that he wanted to go out for a minute, but she would not allow him. He took off his belt and told her to keep hold of the end of it, while he would hold the other outside the door. This she agreed to. He pinned the belt to the door-post and ran. He came to some horses and mounted the first he got hold of, but it threw him, for it was a mare. He mounted a second and it threw him also, for the same reason. By good luck, the third was a horse, and he was scarcely on its back when the fairy woman was at his side. But the noble animal succeeded in taking its rider out of danger, and next day, when the men sent to the rescue arrived at the bothy, they found only the "sgamhan" (lights) portions of the bodies of the unfortunate dozen.

The point of new interest in this story is that the mare—the female—does not help the man in his difficulties against the fairies and witches. Here is another incident illustrating this point, though not bearing upon the water spirit. A shepherd and his two dogs—one male and the other female—were in a far-away

hill bothy alone one night, when a small bird came down the chimney. It was very wet, and the bird began drying itself by the fireside. As it was getting warmer, it was getting larger. At last it turned into a woman, and rose with its head to the top of the bothy. She immediately attacked the shepherd, and was helped by the female dog, but the male dog helped the shepherd with such effect that the witch was fain to flee for her life, with the dog clinging to her breasts. Shortly afterwards, the dog returned, and immediately expired from loss of blood. Next day the shepherd returned to his house in the hamlet below, and found that a young woman, a neighbour's wife, was nigh death's door, having been, by some mysterious cause or other, torn in face and breast the night before. A completer version of this story than the Sutherlandshire one just given, will be found in Stewart's second volume of "Lectures on the Mountains," where time and place and name are most minutely given in the legend of the Wife of Laggan, a small farm near Kingussie. Only there the circumstance of sex in animals is not mentioned as of importance in witch encounters.

Water fairies used to be very troublesome to millers; for mills were an invasion into the domain of the water powers, which they did not, with their pre-civilisation notions, approve of. There was once a miller at Swordly called Adhamh Mor (Big Adam), and the fairies used to come to the mill every night and set it agoing with such violence that they were like to break it to pieces. He determined to watch them. He donned woman's clothes, and was spinning with a distaff when a fairy child came and let him know in a verse of good Gaelic—forgotten by our informant—that she knew him. Next night he also watched, with a similar result; and on the third night he was melting tallow when the fairy child came. The latter asked his name: "Mi fein 's tu fein"—myself and yourself—was the answer. While the fairy was warming itself at the fire, Adhamh poured all the boiling tallow over its body, and burnt it dreadfully. It ran away howling that it was burnt. This brought its parent on the scene; he asked who burnt it: "Mi fein 's tu fein," said the child. "Na'm b'e neach eile rinn e, 's mise gun dioladh e," replied he (if any one else did it, it's I that would avenge it). However, the mill was

that night wrecked and knocked down, and its ruins may still be seen as a testimony to the vengeance of the water fairies. "The man's grandchildren are still stopping beside the mill," says our Sutherlandshire informant.

The foregoing story is not merely illustrative of the spite that the water fairies have against civilisation in the shape of a mill, it is also important as embodying a myth of wide distribution. Everyone knows the story of Polyphemus, the son of the sea-god Poseidon, and how this one-eyed Cyclops was cheated by Ulysses with the "no-man" trick. All the portions of the Polyphemus myth appear in Highland tales, but not connected. The burning out of the giant's eye is told as a youthful exploit of Oscar's (Campbell's Tales, vol. iii.), while the trick of no-man occurs invariably in connection with tales of water sprites and not of giants. The giants, however, are sea-giants, inhabiting sea caves, and they possess but one eye, just as is the case with the "toothy carlin," known as the "Muitearatch." The following is a Skye parallel to the "no-man" trick of Homeric poetry:—One night a shepherd's wife was making her husband's supper, while he was out fishing on the loch near the house. When she was busy at this a very handsome young man came into the house and sat down on a chair. In the course of conversation, he asked her what her name was. She replied, "Mi fhein 's mi fhein"—myself and myself. The woman had noticed through a loose jacket he had on that his breast was covered with long grey hair, and by this she knew him to be a kelpie. It was porridge she was making, and when she was going to dish it she suddenly clapped the pot on the stranger's head. He rushed out yelling, and by his yells brought his father out of the lake. His father asked who hurt him. "Mi fhein 's mi fhein," he replied. Then the father made answer—"If any other kelpie or human being had hurt you, I would have avenged you, but since you hurt yourself you may bear the pain."

GAELIC ORTHOGRAPHY.

[BY JOHN WHYTE.]

IN the spring of the present year a Committee of the Gaelic Society of London issued a circular suggesting a conference to consider certain "important questions affecting Highland education generally, and in particular the orthography and grammar of the Gaelic language." The opinion of various Gaelic societies and individuals was desired as to the practicability and probable usefulness of such a conference, as well as an indication of the general questions and the points of grammatical detail that required consideration. The proposal was pretty freely canvassed in the public press, one subject or object in particular being pretty strongly emphasised as demanding very careful attention. That was the establishing of a standard of Gaelic orthography. Of course, all this implied that if the language was not at sixes and sevens, there was at least something seriously out of joint in its orthography, which represented not merely the diversities arising from ignorance, but differences about the reconciliation of which even the learned could not agree. In fact, one could not help inferring that after all there might be much truth in the old taunt that "Gaelic is a language that few can read, and nobody can spell." But not only was there said to be the absence of a standard of orthography, such as might be attained without resort to a phonetic system—such a standard, for instance, as obtains in any scholarly English treatise or a good English dictionary; we were further oracularly informed that the sound and spelling of the Gaelic language have no relationship with each other. In fact, the reading of Gaelic is represented as being almost impossible of acquirement—"Few can read it;" and to master its orthography is equally beyond the reach of the many who can speak and the few who can read it, for, we are told, "*Nobody* can spell it." If all this is true, it is surely the sheerest folly to expect that a standard of uniformity, not to speak of correctness, can be established at all.

But is it true? I do not profess to know much about languages, but I venture to say that—without professing to be a

language in any sense at all phonetic, with only one symbol for each sound and one sound for each symbol—few, if any, languages can compare with Gaelic in point of consistency and simplicity of orthography.

In the first place, its Consonants, which are thirteen in number, have almost unvarying sounds, determined by their proximity to either broad or narrow vowels or the aspirate *h*. Let the sounds of these letters be once learned, and their place in the syllable observed, their pronunciation will not present any difficulty beyond that which a Saxon may experience on account of the difference in value between some of the letters and the same letters in English. But of this more anon. The Vowels, again, are still more simple, and, when used with the accents ordinarily placed over them in Gaelic, can be pronounced with perfect ease by any one who knows the vowel sounds of the Continental languages, but not according to their English name-sounds. Those who know the Gaelic words by head-mark require no accents. The vowels and the aspirate *h* perform toward the consonants the purpose which the accents serve with respect to the vowels. With a purely phonetic orthography the Gaelic language would require 18 vowel and 29 consonant symbols. When the fact is borne in mind that to produce these 47 distinct sounds the Gaelic language has only 18 letters, it might seem necessary to have some such expedients as accents or modifying letters to indicate the value of essential letters. And such is the care with which our old orthographers adjusted the matter that any person of ordinary intelligence could learn in half a day to *read* his Gaelic Bible correctly. To learn to understand it is the work of a much longer time, but I am at present only concerned with the question of reading and spelling. The correct enunciation of Gaelic I maintain to be simplicity itself. The spelling, however, is more difficult, and the difficulty arises, as in English and most other languages, from not having one fixed symbol for each sound. Even in this respect, however, Gaelic is not a greater sinner than other languages; certainly not within sight of English in point of distracting anomalies of orthography.

It is true that there are in Gaelic a number—not a large

number—of words, with regard to the spelling of which there is diversity even among scholars, but this is a good deal owing to want of accurate knowledge of these words in their older and purer forms; and as the science of philology and the historic grammar of the Gaelic language become better known, these anomalies will disappear. Such words as "deagh" or "deadh," and "laigh" or "laidh," are instances in point, but anyone who looks up the forms of these words prior to the introduction of the aspiration represented by the letter *h*, will find that in both cases the essential consonant in dispute is the letter *g*, thus leaving no doubt whatever that the words ought to be spelled "deagh" and "laigh." Even, however, in respect of such words as these, I believe the want of uniformity arises from the fact that Gaelic is so little written that usage has not done for it what it has done for more cultivated languages—settled the standard of correct spelling, as it were, by main force, and often in defiance of considerations of philology and grammar.

Let Highland people write more of their native language, and let all possible advantage be taken of the concession, small as it is, which the Education Department has made, placing Gaelic among the profitable subjects in our schools, and all disputings about uniformity of spelling will come to an end. A newspaper contemporary in the West, referring to the proposed conference to settle the standard of Gaelic orthography, has informed us that there is at least one man in London who writes the Gaelic language correctly. Well, *he* is a standard. Let Highlanders in general learn to write the language accurately, just as he learned to do it, and the thing is done. Our want of a Gaélic standard is simply another name for our ignorance of our native language.

An English person, or one who only reads English, must bear in mind that in Gaelic the vowels have a Continental sound, not an English one, and that the consonants, *b*, final *c*, *d*, *g*, *l* (*ll*), *n* (*nn*), final *p*, and *t*, differ materially from the same letters in English. Having once mastered their Gaelic sounds, however, he will have little difficulty in reading a page of modern Gaelic. To put the matter to the test, I propose to submit a few rules and a scheme of elementary sounds, by the application of which I have no doubt any intelligent person will be able to read the

Gaelic language with a surprising degree of correctness. There are a few sounds in Gaelic which are generally regarded as unpronounceable by an Englishman. One of the worst of these is the double sound of *l*, as in "là," a day; and the word "laogh," a calf, is usually put forward as a perfect settler, as it, in addition to this double *l* sound, contains other two posers, namely, *ao* and *gh*. But, in point of fact, the word need present no more difficulty to a courageous Saxon than the harmless animal with which it is identified. In fact, its final sound, that of *gh*—the one usually considered the least in point of difficulty—is the one most difficult to convey to an Englishman, unless, indeed, we simply tell him to regard it as the *rr* of the Newcastle *burr*. The sound of the initial *l* in "laogh" is one that English speakers pronounce every day without knowing it. It is a combination of *l* and the *th* in the English word "that." Place the tongue in the position for *l*, and, while pronouncing that letter, slip the tip of the tongue down to the points of the teeth as if for *th*, and you have the exact sound of the Gaelic *l* in "laogh," and *ll* in "call," "null," and, in fact, wherever *ll* is preceded by a broad vowel. Indeed, a more simple instruction might be to place the tongue as for *th* (*dh*), and sound *l*. The broad sound of *n* (*nn*) is to be treated in an exactly similar way. It is a combination of *n* and *th*, (*dh*). The sound of *ao* in "laogh" is, as it is invariably elsewhere, long, and is the same as the *eu* of the French, or the *u* of the English word "purr," lengthened out.

A peculiar philological fact with reference to *ll* and *nn* is that in old Gaelic they are very frequently *ld* and *nd*. The change of this *d* into *dh* gives at once the combined sounds *lth* and *nth*, to which I have been referring.

Before going further I may mention one or two defects in our Gaelic orthography. These are the want of a symbol to distinguish the various sounds of the letters *l* and *n*. To a person who understands the language the matter presents no great difficulty, but to a beginner in Gaelic reading they are a little perplexing, there being nothing necessarily in their proximity to certain vowels, to indicate their sound, as in the case of the other consonants. We require also a symbol to denote the indefinite short unaccented sound of the vowels—the sound of *a* in "cionsa," *e* in

"duine," *i* in "is" (and), *o* in "rogha," and *u* in "agus." The same sound is found in English in "hover," "some," "fun."

For the guidance of beginners in reading Gaelic, I propose to use the ordinary vowel accents, with the addition of *ɛ* to represent the short sound of *ɛ* as in "where," while *e* without any mark represents the short sound of *e* in "whey," and *ɔ* for the short sound of *ð*, as in "nōt," "hōt," etc. I shall also use the diaeresis, thus *ä*, , etc., to represent the vowels when sounded like *o* in "some," and small capitals to represent the double sound of *l* (*ll*) and *n* (*nn*), thus—*L*, *LL*, *N*, *NN*. Letters which are silent or but very faintly sounded I shall put in italics, thus—"fītheāch," "Lēathānn" etc. Of course, after a little practice and some understanding of the language, the necessity for the use of these diacritics almost entirely ceases; the context in most cases showing whether the required word is "cas," a foot, or "càs," a dilemma; "tùr," a tower, or "tur," entirely. The point I wish to establish is, that so far from requiring a phonetic system of spelling, —a thing, I fear, out of the question at this time of day, and an experiment that would seriously endanger the life of our venerable linguistic grandmother—our orthography is quite sufficient for our purposes, and the only cause of stumbling is that our Saxon friends forget that our vowels and consonants are *Gaelic*, not *English* ones.

The following, I believe, will be found pretty complete for practical purposes. I have omitted one or two sounds that are so closely related to some of those given below that to give them distinct diacritics for themselves would but perplex the learner:

VOWELS.

- à as in "father."
- a „ „ "lass," or German "Mann."
- é „ „ "whey."
- e „ „ the noun "survey."
- è „ „ "where."
- ë „ „ "whet."
- ì „ „ "machine."
- i „ „ "ratify."
- ó „ „ "toe."
- o „ „ "canto."
- ð „ „ "lord."
- ö „ „ "hot."
- ù „ „ "pull."
- u „ „ "put."

ä, ē, i, ö, ü have all the sound of *o* in "some."
ao is always long, and is like the French *œu* or the *u* in "purr."

CONSONANTS.

b is like *p* in "shopboy," or *b* without the preliminary murmur which it has in English.

c like English *k*. When final, *c* has the sound of *h*, the *k* being strongly aspirated or guttural.

ch as in German "nach," "ich," or in the Scotch word "loch."

d beside a broad vowel (a, o, u), is purely dental, and is sounded with the tip of the tongue between the teeth.

d beside a slender vowel (e, i), is like *dch* in "good cheer."

dh is exactly like *gh*, which see.

f as in English.

g as hard *g* in English, but without the preliminary murmur. Resembles English *k*.

gh (dh) beside a broad vowel is like the *rr* of a person speaking with a *burr*, or *g* in the German word "Tag."

gh (dh) beside a slender vowel is like *y* in "yew."

h as in English.

l as in English.

L, LL beside a broad vowel is like *lh* (*ldh*) in "although."

L, LL beside a slender vowel is like Italian *gl*, or *ll* in "million."

m as in English.

n as in English.

N, NN beside a broad vowel is like *nh* (*ndh*) in "on the."

N, NN beside a slender vowel is like Italian *gn*, or *n* in "vineyard."

p initial, as in English; *p* final is *hp* (see *c* final).

r as in English.

s beside a broad vowel equals *s* in English,

s beside a slender vowel equals *sh* in English.

t initial, beside a broad vowel is purely dental, and is sounded with the tip of the tongue between the teeth.

t beside a slender vowel is like *tch* in "pitcher."

t final, when preceded by a short vowel, sounds *ht* (see final *c* and *p*).

The vowels are *nasal* when in contact with *m* or *n*.

Short vowels are *very short*, many of them being scarcely heard at all.

Contact with *h* modifies or silences consonants; *bh* and *mh* equalling *v*; *fh*, *sh*, and *th* equalling *h*; and *ph* equalling *f*.

Let me remark, as still further showing the regularity and simplicity of the rules of Gaelic orthography and pronunciation, that all words, without exception, are accented on the first syllable. In the following exercise in reading, in order to keep some of the foregoing observations pictorially before the eye of the learner, silent or faintly sounded letters are printed in italics. In a future paper I may give some rules by which persons who already

understand Gaelic and a little of its grammar may dispense almost altogether with the accents and other marks so necessary to a non-Gaelic-speaking reader.

EXERCISE.

ùirnigh än tigheärn.—ar n-aħair än ta air nèamh, gu naomh-aicheär d' ainm. thigeädh do rìoghächd. dèanär do thörl air än talämh mär än niitheär air nèamh. tabhair dhuinn än diugh ar n-aran làithéil agüs maith dhuinn ar fiächän, amhul än mhaithéas sinne d' ar luchd-fiäch agüs na leig ann än buäfreädh sinn ach saor sinn o ölc öir is Lëatsä än rìoghächd agüs än cumhächd agüs än għlòir, gu siörruidh. amen.

GEORGE, FIFTH EARL OF CAITHNESS OF THE SINCLAIR LINE.

[BY GEORGE M. SUTHERLAND, F.S.A. SCOT., WICK.]

GEORGE SINCLAIR, fifth Earl of Caithness, who succeeded in 1583, held the Earldom for the long period of sixty years. He was the son of John Sinclair, who died in the dungeon of Girnigoe Castle. He married Jane Gordon, a daughter of the fifth Earl of Huntly. They had three of a family, two sons and one daughter—(1) William, Lord Berriedale, was the eldest son, and he died before his father. He was married to Mary, a daughter of Lord Sinclair. They had a son named John, the Master of Berriedale, and this John was married to Jean, a daughter of the Earl of Seaforth. John had three of a family—George, who became the sixth Earl of Caithness, and John and William. (2) Francis of Northfield. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Fraser. They had a son, George Sinclair of Keiss, who became the seventh Earl of Caithness. They had also a daughter named "Jean, Lady Mey." She died in 1716. (3) Elizabeth, who was married to George, Lord Lindsay, afterwards Earl of Crawford. She had no family. In Douglas's Peerage she is named Anne, but this is a mistake.

At the proof, which was led in 1791, when the Earldom was

contested in the House of Lords, a certified copy of a charter was produced, which had been granted by Queen Mary, dated 2nd October, 1545, to John Sinclair, son and apparent Earl of Caithness. This document proved that George, the fourth Earl, was married to Lady Elizabeth Graham, and that they had a son John, in whom the Earldom became a male fee to him and his heirs male, but reserving the liferent to the Earl then living. King James the Sixth granted a charter to George, fifth Earl of Caithness, on 17th December, 1591, and this charter shows that George, the fifth Earl, was a son of John, the late Master, and that he was married to Lady Jean Gordon.

This Earl was known by the appropriate title of "Wicked Earl George." He was, by a long way, the worst Earl that ever wore the Caithness coronet. He was a striking contrast to the Earl who preceded him. That Earl expended all his energies to make the Caithness family a power in the land, while this Earl shattered, and almost ruined, the work which his great predecessor had accomplished. He was animated more by caprice and passion than by any distinct aim in life.

He signalled his advent to power by the murder of two servants of the late Earl, namely, David and Ingram Sinclair. He did this openly and in the day time. The reason for the murder was because the two men were the keepers of his father, John Sinclair, in Girnigoe, and it may be assumed that he thought that they had a hand in his father's death. He did not take into account that they were obeying the instructions of the former Earl, in the same way as he might expect his own servants to have obeyed himself. Ingram resided at Wester, and David at Keiss. The tradition is that Ingram had a daughter who was to be married, and that, on the morning of the marriage day, the Earl, who was on horseback, met David, who was travelling from Keiss to be present at the wedding, on the Links of Keiss. It is said that the Earl there and then ran him through with his sword and killed him. After he had done this, he proceeded to Wester, where he found Ingram engaged in playing football. He called him aside, and, with a pistol, shot him dead. Mr. Calder, in his History of Caithness narrates that "he then coolly turned his horse's head towards Girnigoe, and rode off with as little concern as if he had

merely killed a brace of moor fowl." This crime passed unpunished, and the relatives were no doubt afraid that they would suffer the same fate themselves if they made any complaint on the subject. Sir Robert Gordon, on the other hand, asserts that the Earl had killed the two men for the reason that they were friendly to the Earl of Sutherland. This interpretation of the affair is most unlikely, and the true theory seems to be that it was on account of feelings of revenge due to his father's death. Sir Robert has, as stated, a different version from that which is generally received. Sir Robert writes: "One of these two gentlemen had invited Earl George to the brydell-feast of one of his daughters. The Earle went cheerfullie, and after denner playing at football. . . . the Earle himselff, without any other preamble, came to Ingrahme Sinclair, who suspected no such matter, and shott him in the head with a pistoll, whereof he died instantlie at that place. David Sinclair was immediately thereafter slain by the Earle with a sword, who had caused their wapones to be stollen from them." But in whatever way Sir Robert might have used the incident to the disparagement of the Earl of Caithness, it is clear enough that the murder was unjustifiable in the circumstances, and that the tragic affair did not redound to the Earl's character or reputation.

The Earl's own conduct was not long in undermining his influence, not only in his own county, but also as a Baron of the Kingdom. In 1584 his Commission of Justiciary was reduced at the instance of the Earl of Huntly, who was the Principal Sheriff of Inverness. The fact of his being deprived of the office of Justiciar was a fatal blow to his prestige, and indeed it would have been better for the fortunes of the family if they had never exercised the office, as it was in and through it that the clan got mixed up in many a broil in which they would never otherwise have been engaged. The power of the Earl of Caithness was also reduced, whereby he could summon assizes in "four halffis about," that meant in the four adjacent Sheriffdoms. He strongly protested against this reduction, and in 1587 it appears that his name is included in a Roll of Landlords, on whose lands "broken men" dwelt. He was a Commissioner for holding Parliament in

1607, and was present at the Conventions at Stirling and Edinburgh in the years 1584 and 1625.

The Earl had a very chequered career, and in his somewhat eventful life several noteworthy incidents took place. It was through his influence that Wick was created a Royal Burgh by King James the Sixth of Scotland in 1589. The Earl, it is believed, had several reasons for getting the creation in question. On the one hand it is alleged that his chief reason was that, if the town was a Royal Burgh, it could not be ravaged and destroyed by the Sutherlands, as had been done in 1588 and 1589, to which reference will afterwards be made. On the other hand, it is contended that the rival family of the Sinclairs of Murkle were promoting the interests of the town of Thurso, and that as the townsmen of Wick had been assisting his Lordship in his patrimonial broils and clan quarrels, he was determined that Wick should have the pre-eminence. Hence the creation of Wick into a Royal Burgh ; but, at any rate, it is evident enough that the Earl had some real motive for his action in the matter. Further, it must be seen that he must have had some influence at the Scottish Court at the time, before he could have got the matter sanctioned. The charter of erection bears that Wick was erected into a free Royal Burgh "with the advice of our trusty cousin, George, Earl of Caithness." In the pleadings and the action, in 1823, at the instance of the Town Council of Wick, for the removal of the Sheriff Court from Thurso to Wick, it is stated that Wick had "always enjoyed the peculiar favour and protection of the Earls of Caithness," and that the attachment of George, the Fourth Earl, was such that, before his death, he desired his heart to be sent to Wick. It is also mentioned that the Fifth Earl had been a great protector to Wick, and that the inhabitants "had adhered to him against his enemies," whereby they had, "of course, encountered much of the resentment of the other faction in the County."

There is another point of interest of which mention may be made. The huge and impregnable castle in which he resided was known as Girnigoe Castle up to 1606, but in that year he obtained a special act in the old Scottish Parliament changing the name from Girnigoe to Castle Sinclair. It had become fashionable

at the time to give the baronial piles and keeps the name of their respective clans. Some imagine that the old part of the building was Castle Girnigoe, and the more recent portion Castle Sinclair. Hence the building is commonly talked of as Castle Sinclair and Girnigoe, whereas the fact is that the change in the name has caused the misapprehension. Previous to 1606, as matter of fact, the castle was named Girnigoe, and thereafter Sinclair.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE knighthood just conferred on the Provost of Inverness, in commemoration of Her Majesty's jubilee, will be regarded with universal satisfaction. Whether, in consideration of his position as Chief Magistrate of the capital city of the Highlands on the occasion of such an exceptional outburst of loyal feeling; his personal character; his wide and varied culture and his literary gifts, it will be universally acknowledged that the honour, if such marks of distinction were to be dispensed in any measure at all, could not have been more appropriately bestowed than on him whom we are now proud to designate Sir Henry Cockburn Macandrew.

PROVOST MACANDREW's loyalty is not a mere sentiment of devotion to the august personality who wears the crown of this great Empire—though there is nothing lacking in this respect—he is deeply imbued with an intelligent patriotic regard for the honour of his country at large, and is especially solicitous for the good of the Highlands and the Highland people. To the conservation of the ancient prestige of his native town, he has devoted much attention, tracing its importance back to Columban times, and showing that both in ancient and modern royal eyes Inverness was deemed no mean city. We are pleased to add that our own pages have been once and again enriched with his contributions to this subject, and to the general and social history of the Highlands. We trust he may long live to enjoy, and worthily to wear, as he has worthily earned, respect and honour from his Sovereign, and from this northern community over which he presides. All that is now required is that his *alma mater* should supplement the civil honour with that usually conferred for eminence in Literature.

IN the list of pensions granted during the year ending on the 20th June, 1887, and charged upon the Civil List, occurs the name of Mrs. Clerk, of Kilmallie, who gets a pension of £120, "in consideration of the literary merits of her late husband, the

Rev. Archibald Clerk, LL.D., as a Celtic scholar, and of her destitute condition." It is a graceful act. We welcome it on two grounds, for it recognises the merits of a Gaelic scholar, while it confers substantial benefits on a lady whose father's name is a household word among the Gael. We welcome it, too, because we hope that it augurs continuous recognition of Gaelic literature in the future, and that the example thus set will be often copied and repeated.

PROFESSOR SAYCE presides in the Anthropological section of the British Association at Manchester. He will probably confine himself in his opening address to the evidence supplied by languages as to the history and development of mankind, when he will likely have a good deal to say upon the Celts. Mr. Stuart-Glennie is also to contribute a paper on a kindred subject.

THE first three numbers of Vol. VIII of the *Revue Celtique* have followed close upon one another, and it is evident that the editor, M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, is striving to make it a regular Quarterly. We wish him every success, for he deserves it. The present numbers are fully up in interest and scientific importance to the standard of those of the former volumes. The editor himself has two series of articles on early Gaulish history and antiquities that are of the highest importance to Celtic scholars. The one series of articles deals with the question of the use and origin of landed property among the Gauls, and, indeed, among the Celts generally. M. D'Arbois shows conclusively that the Celts did not recognise private property in land till the Romans introduced the idea and the reality when they conquered Gaul. We hope soon to place his ideas and conclusions more fully before our readers, for they have a direct bearing on the historical aspect of the agrarian question among ourselves. M. D'Arbois' other series of articles treats of the condition, political and social, of Gaul at the time of the Roman conquest. We have the first article only of this series, and therein he deals with the agriculture, the inhabited places—towns, villages, and houses—and the inhabitants in their classes of kings, magistrates, senates, knights, or nobles, and their dependents.

Among the other papers in these numbers of the *Revue Celtique*, there are two by Dr. Whitley Stokes, marked by his usual accuracy and intimate knowledge of the Irish language. He edits and translates as his first article the "Siege of Howth," from the Book of Leinster (12th century), and his other article is a similar treatment of the "Irish Verses, notes and glosses in Harleian, 1802," another MS. of the 12th century. The other leading contributors are MM. Ernault ("Breton Studies"), Loth, Dottin, and Gaidoz. We note, in the way of derivations, M. Ernault's connection of Gaelic *bas* (palm) with the Greek *agostos* for *gFostos* and of Welsh *banadl* (broom) and Breton *balan* and Gaelic *bealaiddh*, both by metathesis, with the Latin *genista*. In these cases original *gv* appears, as always, in Gaelic as *b*. Dr. Stokes meets in the "Irish Verses" with the Irish word *trist*, which he says O'Curry told him meant "a short time." It is well known in Scotch Gaelic as *treis* (a while). We cannot think that it is borrowed from the Eng. *tryst*, as Dr. Stokes half suggests. It seems to contain the prep. *tre* (through).

A CONFERENCE on Education in the Highlands is to be held in Oban on the 2nd instant, and it is expected that the leading educationists of the North will

take part in it. The New Code has hit the Highlands more severely than any other rural district of Scotland. For instance, the Class subject of English, which is compulsory if Class subjects are taken, is not one where Highland children can make an excellent appearance. It is compulsory, and will not pay in their case. Some relaxation of the rule ought to be made in the Highlands. We hope the Conference will pass a resolution to the effect that Gaelic be made a Class subject, or that at the very least, the Gaelic may count in considering the English Class subject. It would be well if the Department were reminded that the Gaelic is not yet placed on the specific schedule, and that, though it may be taken as a specific subject, teachers do not yet know what is to be expected of them for a pass.

The ninth annual report of the Council of the "Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language" was issued lately and has been sent to us. On June 1st, 1886, the Council passed, among others, the following resolutions :—

"That no language can be successfully taught unless the vernacular is employed as a medium for instruction."

"That the population in Irish-speaking districts, who do not speak, or who are most imperfectly acquainted with English, amount to one-fifth of the nation"

"That the practice of endeavouring to teach English in Irish-speaking districts to pupils unacquainted with the English language, through the medium of the latter, is opposed to every principle of education, and tends to perpetuate illiteracy of the people, and, therefore, no progress in education can be made in such districts, unless Irish is employed as the medium for teaching English in primary schools."

IRISH may be taught in the National schools to pupils of the fifth class and upwards, but not within school hours. Payments are made on the results of the passes. The following is the Irish Programme for the pupils, which we reproduce in the hope that it may help and suggest in the shaping of the Gaelic schedule for the Highlands :—

FIRST YEAR—(a.) Joyce's Grammar, to the end of the regular verb, with the verb *is*, *tá*; (b.) To translate into English the Irish phrases of the exercises in the First and Second Irish Books, published by the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language.

SECOND YEAR—(a.) Joyce's Grammar, to the end of Etymology; (b.) To translate into English the Irish phrases of the exercises in the "Third Irish Book;" (c.) To translate into Irish the English phrases of the exercises in the First and Second Irish Books.

THIRD YEAR—(a.) Joyce's Grammar, to the end of Syntax; (b.) The first seven chapters of Keating's "Foras Feasa ar Eirinn," omitting the poetry; (c.) To translate into Irish the English phrases and sentences of the exercises in the "Third Irish Book."